

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 07792 301016Z

17
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

TRSE-00 IO-13 OMB-01 COME-00 EB-07 SAM-01 /082 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8849

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

CINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 7792

DEPT PASS TO SECRETARY RICHARDSON

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO UR

SUBJ: BREZHNEV VISIT AFTERMATH

REF: BELGRADE 7790

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 07792 301016Z

1. REMARKS BY BOTH FONSEC MINIC AND LCY EXEC SECY DOLANC

ON SAME DAY, NOV 26, REFLECT SIMILAR CONCERNS OVER EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA REPORTS ON BREZHNEV VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA, BUT INDICATE, NONETHELESS, THAT YUGOSLAVS ARE SATISFIED WITH RESULTS OF VISIT. DOLANC'S COMMENTS MADE IN THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE FOLLOWING TITO'S "STATE OF THE UNION" ADDRESS, WERE OF NECESSITY MUTED. MINIC, WHO MADE HIS REMARKS IN MEETING WITH SECRETARY RICHARDSON, REFERRED TO DEBATE IN WHICH DOLANC TOOK PART AND APPEARED TO SUM UP THE GOY'S VIEWS AS FOLLOWS: "REGARDLESS OF WHAT THEIR (SOVIET) PRIVATE WISHES MIGHT BE, THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT RESULTING FROM BREZHNEV'S VISIT RECOGNIZES THE INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA, AND ESTABLISHES THAT THIS POSITION WILL NOT CHANGE WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA IS WITH THE PRESENCE OF TITO OR WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF TITO."

2. MINIC TOLD RICHARDSON THE SOVIETS UNEQUIVOCALLY RECOGNIZED THE DURABILITY OF YUGOSLAVIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT AND ITS IRREVOCABLE LINKAGE TO YUGOSLAVIA'S SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM. THUS, HE SAID, EFFORTS TO PUSH YUGOSLAVIA INTO ANY CAMP WOULD LEAD TO INSTABILITY IN EUROPE AND WOULD BE TOTALLY RESISTED BY THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE. "IF ANYONE WERE TO TRY TO PUSH US CLOSER TO THE SOVIET UNION, IT WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO DISRUPT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES." NEVERTHELESS, HE ADMITTED THAT THE GOY WOULD TRY NOT TO IRRITATE THE SOVIETS AND "IN THIS WE CAN GO RIGHT TO THE LIMIT OF OUR PRINCIPLES". HOWEVER, HE SAID, EVEN IF YUGOSLAV PRINCIPLES IRRITATE THE SOVIETS "OR OTHERS", IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT "TO GET US TO CHANGE OUR PRINCIPLES".

3. MINIC TERMED THE BREZHNEV DISCUSSIONS "EXCEEDINGLY FRANK". WHILE, HE SAID, THE COMMUNIQUE WAS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, THE SOVIETS HAD WISHED TO INCLUDE SOME VIEWS WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS DID NOT ACCEPT. IN THIS REGARD MINIC MENTIONED "THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM, THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AND SO FORTH". THIS, MINIC INDICATED, WOULD NOT BE COMPATIBLE WITH YUGOSLAVIA'S NONALIGNMENT. "WE ARE NOT A PART OF THE WARSAW PACT; WE HAVE NEVER BEEN AND WE NEVER HAVE

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 07792 301016Z

THOUGHT OF BECOMING ONE. WE ARE NOT EVEN A MEMBER OF THE SO-CALLED "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, WHICH SOMETIMES SEEMS LIKE JUST ANOTHER TERM FOR 'SOCIALIST CAMP'." (NOTE: MINIC USED TERM "LAAGER", DUTCH-GERMAN WORD FOR CONCENTRATION CAMP.)

4. MINIC WAS CONCERNED WITH AND DISPUTED EAST EUROPEAN PRESS COMMENTARIES WHICH PLACED BREZHNEV'S VISIT IN THE

CONTEXT OF SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. MINIC SAID THE YUGOSLAVS REITERATED TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY "DO NOT WANT TO ENTER THIS COMMUNITY." HE ADDED THAT THE ASSEMBLY DEBATE (IN WHICH DOLANC TOOK PART) ALSO SERVED THE PURPOSE OF INFORMING THE EAST EUROPEANS OF YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON THE MATTER. MINIC SAID WHEN BREZHNEV VISITS YUGOSLAVIA, IT IS NO MORE THAN IT WOULD BE IF HE VISITED THE FRG, FRANCE, OR TO ANY OTHER WESTERN COUNTRY."

5. COMMENTS ON YUGOSLAVIA MADE DURING THE US PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN "WERE VERY PAINFUL FOR THE SOVIETS", ACCORDING TO MINIC, BREZHNEV'S VISIT "PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISPELL THE NOTION THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS IN DANGER FROM THE SOVIET UNION....THEY TRIED VERY HARD...TO REMOVE THESE IMPRESSIONS."

6. DOLANC ALTERNATELY PRAISED THE VISIT AND EXPLAINED YUGOSLAV VIEWS. WHILE HE REFERRED TO THE "SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT" OF YUGOSLAV-SOVIET COOPERATION, HE STATED THAT THIS CAN ONLY CONTINUE "GIVEN STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES RECORDED IN THE JOINT YUGOSLAV-SOVIET DOCUMENTS, STARTING FROM THE BELGRADE DECLARATION." ALSO NECESSARY TO FURTHER THIS COOPERATION, HE CONTINUED, IS "RESPECT FOR DIFFERENT PATHS OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFERENT INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND PARTIES." HERE DOLANC CLEARLY MEANT, AND HE SUBSEQUENTLY SPELLED OUT, SOVIET RESPECT FOR BOTH YUGOSLAVIA'S NONALIGNMENT AS A POSITION IN ITSELF AND NOT AS TIED TO "SOCIALISM" AND FOR YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT. IN THIS REGARD DOLANC STATED, "IT IS NOT POSSIBLE THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD BE ENTANGLED IN ANY KIND OF INSTITUTIONALIZED FRAMEWORK OF A POLITICAL, MILITARY OR STATE COMMUNITY BECAUSE THIS IS NOT ONLY DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BELGRA 07792 301016Z

THE ESSENCE OF OUR SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIETY AND OUR NON-ALIGNED ORIENTATION, BUT IT WOULD CAUSE SERIOUS DAMAGE TO PEACE, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD AS WELL AS IN TODAY'S POSITIVE TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN GENERAL AND ESPECIALLY IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT."

7. COMMENT: WHILE APPARENTLY SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT'S OUTCOME, YUGOSLAVS PERCEIVE NECESSITY TO CONSTANTLY REITERATE POINTS WHICH THEY BELIEVE WERE MUTUALLY UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA REPORTS WHICH DISPLEASED YUGOSLAVS. REGARDING THESE, TANJUG ON NOV 22 WITHOUT COMMENTARY NOTED "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" ARTICLE OF THE PREVIOUS DAY BY A GENERAL DIEV WHICH REPORTEDLY TREATED THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST

COMMUNITY CONCEPT VERY FIRMLY. ADDITIONALLY RADIO
BELGRADE HAS ALREADY TAKEN OUT AFTER BULGARIAN AND CZECH
MEDIA REPORTING ALONG SIMILAR LINES.DOLANC'S AND
MINIC'S COMMENTS, MADE ON THE SAME DAY, ARE A CLEAR
REFLECTION OF GOY CONCERN REGARDING THE INTERPRETATIONS
GIVEN TO THE VISIT BY THESE REPORTS. IT IS NOTEWORTHY
THAT IT WAS DOLANC WHO WENT BEYOND TITO PUBLICLY ON
THIS SUBJECT. HE HAS THE REPUTATION OF BEING MORE CONCERNED
ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS THAN THE YUGOSLAV LEADER. DOLANC
ALSO MAY HAVE OPPOSED TITO'S PRIVATE MEETING WITH BREZHNEV
DURING THE VISIT AND REPUTEDLY DID NOT EVEN WANT TITO
TO ATTEND THE BERLIN ECPC.
SILBERMAN

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